

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 KINSHA 05926 01 OF 02 131912Z

42

ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W

----- 127771

O 131540Z JUL 76

FM AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 8727

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 KINSHASA 5926

NODIS/CHEROKEE

FOR SECRETARY ONLY FROM SCHAUFLE

E.O. 11652: GDS-EXEMPT

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT: TALK WITH NKOMO

1. I MET WITH JOSHUA NKOMO FOR ONE HOUR IN LUSAKA AFTERNOON OF JULY 12. IN THIS CASE, BECAUSE OF NKOMO'S SENSITIVITY AND TENDENCY TO BE ELLIPTICAL, I SPELLED OUT TALKING POINTS DRAWN UP FOR THIS MEETING IN COURSE OF CONVERSATION.

2. NKOMO DESCRIBES PROGRESS TOWARD NEGOTIATED SOLUTION AS COMPLEX INVOLVING NOT ONLY PEOPLE IN ZIMBABWE BUT ALSO THOSE OUTSIDE, INCLUDING THOSE WHO FURNISH AID, WHO HAVE THEIR OWN IDEAS OF WHAT SHOULD HAPPEN. UNDER PRESENT CONDITIONS EACH NEIGHBOR MUST BE SATISFIED. QUOTE IF WE MOVE IN A WAY WHICH WILL BRING INDEPENDENCE BUT NOT IN THE WAY THEY WANT WE WILL BE CRUSHED. END OF QUOTE.

3. IN ADDITION NKOMO SAID THAT NO ONE CAN SETTLE WITH SMITH OR STOP THE FIGHTING WITHOUT OAU BLESSING. THE US IS INTERESTED AND HELPFUL BUT IS FAR AWAY AND CANNOT PROVIDE MATERIAL ASSISTANCE.

4. HE POINTED OUT THAT NATIONALISTS TEND TO PLACE BIG POWERS IN CERTAIN CATEGORIES AND DENIGRATE THEM IF THERE IS NO ACTIVE ASSISTANCE, AND THIS APPLIES TO US. IF UK CAN MAKE A MOVE THERE WILL BE LESS TENDENCY TO FOCUS ADVERSELY ON US ACTIVITY WHICH WOULD RESULT IN LESS SUSPICION OF US AND GIVE IT MORE

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 KINSHA 05926 01 OF 02 131912Z

MANEUVERABILITY.

NKOMO THINKS THAT IF UK HAD MADE SOME MOVE DURING HIS TALKS WITH SMITH THEY COULD HAVE BEEN ADVANTAGEOUSLY PROLONGED.

5. I ASKED HIM IF ANYTHING COULD BE SUCCESSFULLY NEGOTIATED WITH SMITH. HE REPLIED AFFIRMATIVELY PROVIDING THE CONDITIONS WERE SUITABLE, WHICH HE AMPLIFIED AS MEANING COMBINATION OF APPROPRIATE US, UK AND SA ACTION OR PRESSURE.

6. INITIALLY HE HAD QUERIED ME ABOUT NYERERE'S REACTIONS TO MY APPROACH. I SAID HE MUST UNDERSTAND THE USG WAS ENGAGED IN PROCESS OF SEEKING SOLUTIONS AND NEEDED TO BRING ABOUT AND TO RETAIN BOTH BLACK AFRICAN AND SOUTH AFRICAN PARTICIPATION IN THIS PROCESS. THERE IS POSSIBILITY THAT WE CAN BE SUCCESSFUL IF WE MOVE RAPIDLY, IF THERE ARE NO PREMATURE ACTIONS, IF WE CAN PERSUADE ALL THE PARTICIPANTS TO COOPERATE AND IF WE DON'T GET HUNG UP ON DETAIL. I CHARACTERIZED THE REACTIONS OF THE THREE PRESIDENTS I HAD SPOKEN TO AS NOT UNENCOURAGING. HOWEVER, WE WERE NOT PROPOSING ANY SPECIFICS YET -- ALTHOUGH WE WOULD APPRECIATE HIS REACTIONS TO CERTAIN QUESTIONS. I REMINDED HIM THAT UNDER THE BEST OF CIRCUMSTANCES IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT BUT THAT WE THOUGHT THAT THE EFFORT SHOULD BE MADE.

7. NKOMO THEN STARTED TO OPEN UP SOMEWHAT BUT STILL WITHOUT EXPLICITLY MENTIONING MOZAMBIQUE OR MACHEL WHOM HE OBVIOUSLY CONSIDERS AS THE MAIN OBSTACLE TO A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION. (HE CONSTANTLY REFERRED TO "SOME LEADERS.")

8. REVERTING BACK TO THE UK HE SAID THAT LATTER HAD BEEN RELUCTANT TO MOVE ON RHODESIA BECAUSE OF IMPORTANCE IT ATTACHES TO ITS RELATIONS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES, (HE WAS PROBABLY REFERRING TO TANZANIA AND ZAMBIA) NOT BECAUSE OF RHODESIAN PROBLEM ITSELF. HE THOUGHT IF UK COULD BE ASSURED OF SUPPORT FROM THESE COUNTRIES IT MIGHT BE MORE WILLING TO ACT BUT WOULD BE RELUCTANT TO INITIATE MATTER ITSELF. WHEN I ASKED HIM IF HE THEN SAW THE US INVOLVEMENT AS POSSIBLE MEANS FOR SQUARING THAT CIRCLE HE REPLIED AFFIRMATIVELY.

9. NKOMO STARTED TO MOVE AWAY FROM REFERENCES TO OAU TOWARD EMPHASIZING ROLE OF PRESIDENTS. I ASKED HIM WHETHER THE PROSPECT OF REAL PROGRESS AND ASSURANCE OF MAJORITY RULE IN NEAR

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 KINSHA 05926 01 OF 02 131912Z

FUTURE MIGHT NOT DISSIPATE SOME OF THE KINDS OF PSYCHOLOGICAL BARRIERS, TO WHICH HE HAD REFERRED, REPRESENTED BY PREVIOUS POSITIONS AND CONDITIONS. HE SAID THAT INDEED THEY MIGHT. FINALLY HE STATED THAT BASIC OBSTACLES COULD PROBABLY BE OVERCOME IF THREE OF FOUR PRESIDENTS PROVIDED SUPPORT. HE WAS VERY INTERESTED TO HEAR THAT MACHEL WOULD NOT BE AT OPENING OF TANZAM RAILROAD JULY 14.
CUTLER

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 KINSHA 05926 02 OF 02 131852Z

42

ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W

----- 127456

O 131540Z JUL 76

FM AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 8729

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 KINSHASA 5926

NODIS/CHEROKEE

FOR SECRETARY ONLY FROM SCHAUFLE

10. I SAID MY IMPRESSION WAS THAT NKOMO'S REACTION TO OUR APPROACH WAS GUARDED AND I WAS NOT CLEAR AS TO WHETHER HE THOUGHT WE SHOULD PROCEED. HE SAID WE CERTAINLY SHOULD BUT, WITHOUT DETAILS, HE JUST COULD NOT COMMIT HIMSELF TO ANYTHING AT THIS STAGE. THIS WAS NOT NECESSARILY A CASE WHERE ONE COULD LOSE THE BATTLE AND WIN THE WAR. HE MIGHT LOSE BOTH BY LOSING THE BATTLE.

11. I REPLIED THAT WE WERE NOT ASKING FOR ADVANCE COMMITMENT TO EVENTUAL SOLUTION, THE DETAILS OF WHICH WE DON'T KNOW OURSELVES, BUT FOR SUPPORT IN PURSUING OUR PRESENT COURSE. THIS HE SAID HE COULD FULLY SUPPORT.

12. REGARDING GUARANTEES AND THE TRANSITIONAL PHASE HE HAS NO PROBLEMS. IN FACT HE WANTS THE WHITES TO STAY ON AND HIS PROPOSALS TO SMITH INCLUDED INCENTIVES TO THAT END. I DID NOT RAISE THE POINT BUT INTERESTINGLY NKOMO HIMSELF NEVER MENTIONED A TIME-FRAME FOR ANYTHING, INCLUDING FULL MAJORITY RULE.

13. COMMENT: NKOMO IS UNDERSTANDABLY CAUTIOUS. FIRST BECAUSE, IN HIS COMPETITION WITH MUZOREWA AND WITH CURRENT AFRICAN DISILLUSIONMENT WITH ANC DIVISION, HE CANNOT ADOPT A POSITION WHICH MIGHT ALIENATE THOSE WHOSE SUPPORT HE MAY NEED. SECOND HE IS OBVIOUSLY CONCERNED ABOUT BECOMING IRRELEVANT EITHER BECAUSE ALL THE FEUDING POLITICIANS RISK THAT FATE OR BECAUSE INCREASING MILITARY ACTION AND RECEDING HOPE FOR A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION WILL TEND TO REINFORCE MACHEL'S PLANS

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 KINSHA 05926 02 OF 02 131852Z

FOR RHODESIA.

ON THE OTHER HAND, AS LONG AS PROSPECT OF NEGOTIATED SOLUTION EXISTS HE, AS POLITICAL LEADER, CAN HANG ON AND PERHAPS EVENTUALLY ACHIEVE HIS AIMS. HE ASSERTS THAT, AS THE LEADER OF THE ONLY ORGANIZATION IN RHODESIA, HE IS CONFIDENT OF SUPPORT. (INCIDENTALLY ONE PROBLEM MAY BE THAT MUZOREWA IS REPORTEDLY ABLE TO OUTSPEND HIM ON INTERNAL ORGANIZING ACTIVITY IN RHODESIA.) DEPENDING ON HIS INTERPRETATION OF SITUATION AT ANY GIVEN MOMENT, HE COULD BE TROUBLESOME BUT RIGHT NOW HE UNDERSTANDS, I BELIEVE, THAT US IDEAS HOLD OUT MORE PROMISE FOR HIM PERSONALLY THAN ANYTHING ELSE ON THE HORIZON. ONE ADVANTAGE HE HAS IS THAT NYERERE, ON BASIS HIS TALKS WITH ME, IS NOW DOUBTFUL ABOUT THE "THIRD FORCE" AND TALKED MORE SYMPATHETICALLY ABOUT NKOMO THAN HE HAS IN THE PAST. IN SUM I WOULD SAY THAT NKOMO IS "ON BOARD" BUT, AS TIME GOES ON, HE MAY PERCEIVE RIGHTLY OR WRONGLY CERTAIN LIMITATIONS ON HOW FAR HE CAN GO. THEN IT MAY WELL TAKE THE THREE PRESIDENTS -- KAUNDA, TO WHOM HE IS CLOSEST, KHAMA AND NYERERE TO KEEP HIM IN LINE UNTIL ASSURED THAT HE WILL NOT PASS INTO OBSCURITY. CUTLER

SECRET

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, FOREIGN ASSISTANCE, POLITICAL SITUATION, RELATIONS WITH REGIONAL ORGS, CAT-C, CHEROKEE 07/13/76
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 13 JUL 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GolinoFR
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976KINSHA05926
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: P840084-1251
From: KINSHASA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760765/aaaacewp.tel
Line Count: 194
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION NODS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS, ONLY
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS, ONLY
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GolinoFR
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 06 JUL 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <06 JUL 2004 by ShawDG>; APPROVED <07 JUL 2004 by GolinoFR>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: TALK WITH NKOMO
TAGS: PFOR, PDIP, XA, ZA, US, CG, OAU, (NKOMO, JOSHUA)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006